Looking back and away

Looking Back and Away: Jaime Barrios' *Film Club* (1968)

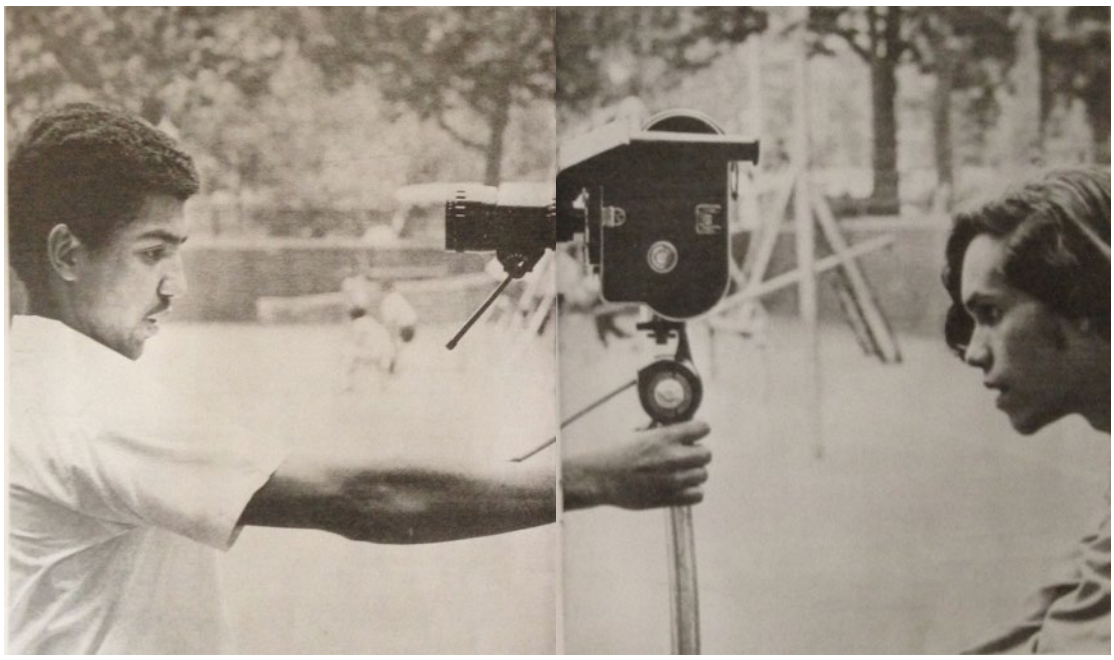

Figure 1 and 2. Photocopy from Rodger Larson Personal Archive, photograph of Jesus Cruz and Jaime Barrios, Photo. Hella Hammid. Courtesy of Rodger Larson.

This scene (Figure 1 and 2) was captured by photographer Hella Hammid on location during the filming of A Park Called Forsyth, a 12-minute student film shot in the summer of 1967, in the context of productions made by the students at the Young Filmmakers Foundation (YFF). In the foreground, the photo captures Chilean film teacher and filmmaker Jaime Barrios (on the right) and seventeen-year-old student filmmaker Jesús Cruz (on the left), a Bolex camera on a tripod between them.[i] Cruz's short film, like many amateur student films of the period, is replete with blood and gore. It portrays a gang conflict in which one gang leader strangles another with a bicycle chain in an "empty Forsyth Park, a park made of stone, concrete and a few scraggly trees," surrounded by an "aura of loneliness and abandonment."[ii] The photo betrays little of this narrative machinery of violent reprisals and urban social dissolution, and instead outlines a taut, concentrated visual and tactile connection between student, teacher, and the

apparatus of visual representation.

Hammid's photo was employed for promotional use in the late 1960s by the YFF, and later as the first image featured in Rodger Larson's A Guide for Film Teachers (1968). The YFF, founded by Larson alongside Jaime Barrios and New York philanthropist Lynne Hofer, was a community outreach project for New York City youth dedicated to training them in the art of 16mm filmmaking. A Guide for Film Teachers was a manual on 16mm student film production and intended as a blueprint of the New York City film workshops, which could be then emulated throughout the country as part of the nationwide "War on Poverty."

If we understand the gaze--or, more broadly, the nature of visuality--as a confluence of subjective, spatial and historical contingencies,[iii] the still image of Cruz and Barrios represents a significant point of convergence in regard to the visual politics of the YFF. The camera's focus and object of representation--the Bolex camera--is visually placed at a crossroads, and centered, divides the frame in two. The symmetry of the two photographic subjects--Cruz and Barrios, in profile and facing each other-- is interrupted by the lens, which is directed toward Cruz. On the left, Cruz, dressed in a starched white button-down shirt, and with neatly cut hair, extends his arm parallel to the frame to the tripod, while Barrios, in an unironed jean shirt and with long, wavy hair, steadies the tripod from below so as to set it at the height of Cruz's gaze. Barrios's hands are cut from the frame, while Cruz eyes the angle of the camera. The camera is manifestly fixed upon the park in which the two filmmakers find themselves, yet Cruz is seemingly looking into a dark, opaque lens, as the camera points towards him. In this photo, the film's director is the Bolex's subject of representation in a twist of the film's

declared directorial logic, foregrounding a counterintuitive cinematic production of self. As such, the photo constructs a tight, yet enigmatic, visual relation between the two figures. Though each of the photographic subjects seems concentrated on some element of the camera, both Cruz and Barrios could also be interpreted as looking at one another, in a confrontation between symmetrical, yet asymmetrical figures, intersubjectively carrying the authorial weight of representation.

This politics of the gaze--and, by extension, of agency over the image--that we observe in Hammid's photo is far from isolated in the archival materials that remain of the YFF, including the varied student films of the period, assorted YFF promotional materials, and the two companion manuals published by Larson in 1967 and 1968. The interaction between the gaze, authorship, and the politics of visuality are perhaps best expressed and nowhere more fraught than in Film Club. Supported by the private Helena Rubenstein Foundation and the public New York State Council for the Arts,[iv] Film Club a 23-minute documentary film, directed by Barrios and produced by Rodger Larson, was released in 1968 with the intention of promoting the programs of the YFF. In addition to serving as an internal recruitment film, Film Club screened in the 1960s at both the Robert Flaherty Film Seminar and the newly inaugurated New York Film Festival, yet glaringly sidesteps the NYFF's investment in auteurism or clear-cut experimentalism, as well as the Flaherty's well-known fascination with explicitly announced documentary reflexivity.[v] On some level, Film Club shares the processual nature of Chilean documentary of the 1960s, or the dominant developmentalist aesthetics common to much postwar Puerto Rican audiovisual (and visual production more broadly). Yet, as much as it partakes of Great Society principles, Barrios' documentary lacks a programmatic

investment in didacticism or in *national* processes of collective subject formation that critics have largely associated with the latter traditions.[vi] Thus, even as Film Club engages a hybrid documentary lineage, it forges its own relationships with authorship, filmic narrative, and the self-determination of representation.

Figure 3. Still, Film Club. A behind-the scenes of the student-film The Revenge. Courtesy of The Filmmakers' Coop.

Film Club is structured by a series of behind-the-scenes of student productions (most set to music), interviews of administrative figures (including Larson and Hofer), and three student interviews (Figure 3). Despite being called "a film teacher's diary" in the 1971 catalogue "Movies from Youth Film Distribution Center," pointing towards the personal, first-person singular connotations of the diaristic genre,[vii] Film Club's montage texture and camera perspectives generate the sensation of a collective, composite, and nonhierarchical vision oscillating between Barrios and the student filmmakers, only emphasized by Barrios's frequent cameos.[viii] Even as vision, the eye, and the gaze have long been metaphors and filters through which to understand filmmaking and a broader politics of the image, these visual metaphors populate the discursive and visual material surrounding Film Club with a particular insistence. This paper argues that Film Club constitutes a polyphonic exploration of the politics of viewership and representation. As the documentary weaves through a labyrinth of symbolic investments and variables, ranging from funding organisms, community uplift, and the values of the Lyndon Johnson-era "War on Poverty," the student filmmakers portrayed in Film Club reinscribe their own vision of the self through a complex matrix of visual, performative, and

rhetorical relations. The subjectivization produced in this operation frustrates any straightforward liberatory identitary narrative. At the same time, the uncertain nature of the film's authorship, declared proposals, and even archivization complicate its place in established canonical domains, ultimately opening up the possibility of a new critical and spectorial horizon of expectation for the documentary, in which visual and moral relations and exigencies are configured and reordered, and the restrictive "expectations" of diasporic subjectivities and canon(s) may be reconsidered.

Visual Relations and Fractile Authorship

Figure 4. Still, Film Club. Screen for public screening, Summer, 1967. Courtesy of Film-Makers' Cooperative.

In the concluding chapter of the Young Filmmakers (1968), a student manual and counterpart to Larson's Guide, Larson and Ellen Meade detail the use of cameras and film, but also prescribe the conditions of projection and viewership as they historically understood them. In the manual, they put forth the conditions of a darkened space, large screen, staggered seating, and a distanced projector without interference from the audience's shadow as the prerequisite of an ideal aesthetic encounter with film.[ix] Film Club (1968) portrays the YFF film workshops, and also a series of public screenings of the student films during the summer of 1967 (Figure 4). If two thirds of the documentary relate the making of the student films and the bureaucracy surrounding them, the scenes that are perhaps most memorable are in fact the projection of YFF student films. The Movie Bus, a Volkswagen van outfitted as a mobile projection booth (with decals and visual associations tied more closely to psychedelia than to the city council that would

fund it),[x] screened student films to approximately 1,000 children across the five boroughs. These screenings were part of a project (in the words of the voiceover): "to keep the ghettos cool," as if the inner city in the dead of summer were on fire. In the periphery of the cosmopolitan cultural center of New York City, the projection screen is hung on the wall of a building--not the ideal screening room described by Larson and Meade, but a city lot (Figure 5). The staggered, orderly seating of their manual is replaced by dozens of children and teenagers congregated--on lawn chairs or sitting cross-legged--at a basketball court, with speakers affixed to trees. Around them, the camera captures a constant din of dancing, laughing, yelling, at times (a stolen kiss on the screen) even pandemonium.

Figure 5. Still, Film Club. Students mounting a projection screen. Courtesy of Film-Makers' Cooperative.

The experience of cinema described in Larson and Meade's manual (exempt of optical and sonic interference, "noise") is closer to a Barthean cinema situation—a "dim, anonymous, indifferent cube" with a universalizing psychoanalytic power to heal—in direct contrast to the tainted worldliness of the street.[xi] The scene also stands in contrast to the roughly contemporary "Invisible Cinema" (1970-1974), in which the entire viewing room was rendered black, so that the screen and the film projected upon it were singular "visual points of reference"—a sort of physical manifesto of an historically specific model of viewership tied to the New York cinematic avant-garde, of which at least Larson and Barrios, if not Meade, were acutely aware.[xii] Film Club instead portrays an urban, open-air screening experience: cinema's lived experience, the liveness of

cinema where desire and attention is distributed between the screen, the audience, and the multifocal space of urban open-air viewership. Filmic identification does not occur in isolation, but rather as a collective process involving commentary and audience interaction in consonance with a long-standing social contract based upon the public space, in this case, of the streets.[xiii] Far from anecdotal, this cinematic event can be extrapolated to far-reaching questions surrounding social structures and ambitions of its historical moment: "Media technologies are more than transmitters of content, they represent cultural ambitions, political machineries, modes of leisure, relations between technology and the body, and, in certain ways, the economy and spirit of an age."[xiv] The multifocal and multidirectional nature of viewership portrayed in this scene of Film Club is closely allied with the cohering social system to which it and its epoch aspired.

Figure 6. Still, Film Club. Student filmmakers riding in The Movie Bus. Courtesy of Film-Makers' Cooperative.

In their bold inhabitation of the streets the student filmmakers represented in Film Club resist the hostility of the public space of the period. Voided by crime and the urban blight of the 1960s, the social systems of the streets were in danger of extinction. At the same time, image technologies and spectatorship were more broadly retreating to the interior spaces of domestic viewership. Contrary to a public space evacuated, the streets instead form the center of these students' creative process. The young filmmakers went out into the streets, brought their narratives back to the interiors of the editing room-- "a little place of their own"[xv] --and, later, brought their narratives back to a shared social exterior--the streets, basketball courts, vacant lots and parks-- in these public screenings. The public space inhabited by the films and the screens of the Movie Bus were understood as

real and metaphorical spaces of encounter "of young people of varying backgrounds,"[xvi] as the Movie Bus re-imprinted the urban space with a new, albeit brief, social logic and cohesion passing through moving images comprising production, postproduction, and reception as they relate to access to the urban public space (Figure 6).

The audience's eye related by Larson and Meade and, by extension, the gaze deployed in Film Club is not merely a double of the body or a means of "projecting internal conflicts in visual form,"[xvii] but also a mode of reorganizing visual and social relations, a reconfiguration with its own critical tradition. While gender in many respects was more visible than race for critics in the early 1970s, in the decades that followed scholars rewrote and intersected psychoanalytic readings of the gaze.[xviii] Reconfiguring the gaze as a channel of racialized resistance, many scholars still retained perhaps overly linear understandings of race or of racialized subjectivity and identifications.[xix] Recent studies, in Latino Studies and Puerto Rican studies in particular—drawing from the now canonical work of Peggy Phelan, among others, have instead underlined the uncertain nature of visibility, emphasizing models of visual and performative identity that move from visibility and invisibility in a single rotation, and where invisibility in its counter institutional dimensions may in fact represent a resistance unto itself --as subtle, playful, or banal, as it may be.

This observation is especially significant in the case of Film Club, as, contrary to much political mobilization of the time in Puerto Rico, Chile, and Latin America more broadly, resistance in Film Club was comprised most urgently not of nationalist (or even internationalist politics), but rather of representational resistance or inconformity.[xx] These representational refusals or reconfigurations operate against the structuring voices of

media and institutional representations--institutional discourses many times imbricated within the moralizing exigencies of The Great Society and postwar United States culture and social psychology's investment in the wholeness, completeness, and transparency of subjectivity and experience.[xxi] Film Club in this fashion is in many ways an exegesis of seeing, vision, and the gaze, and their contingent (and contradictory) claims on subjectivity. Film Club as a system that includes both Jaime Barrios and the student filmmakers themselves both resists and works within the discursive limits (and newfound possibilities, or "impossible possibilities" in the words of DeeDee Halleck[xxii]) of institutional or bureaucratic systems of meaning or modes of visibility of the "productivist" (and even pathologizing) dimensions of the Great Society programs, to which the YFF answered and contested in varying degrees.

Like Larson and Meade's model of viewership, this broader reflection upon visuality--and the gaze--is couched in an institutional discourse within the YFF materials themselves. Against the dominant multimodal metaphors in contemporary criticism of "tactile" [xxiii] and "haptic" vision, [xxiv] it is perhaps not surprising when we consider that Larson, Film Club's producer,[xxv] like many thinkers of his time, forcefully placed images above words. Shuffling between largely binary conceptions of the linguistic and visual fields, Larson identified the visual as a channel of internal conflict both in regard to the identification of the spectator with the filmic apparatus and in relation to the camera as a tool of free expression. In fact, following Larson and Meade, in the context of the YFF, the camera served as the double of the human eye; in other words, a visual prosthesis or surrogate of the filmmaker and perhaps even of the spectator. In the same Young Filmmakers manual, Larson and Meade propose an extended analogy in which

anatomical metaphors of the visual concentrated in the figure of the camera: "For film to be exposed correctly when light on the photographic subject is dim, the lens aperture must be wide open, just as the pupil must be wide open in dim light to enable us to see."[xxvi] This metaphor of vision through a comparison of the pupil and the optic nerve system and the lens aperture and ASA rating, respectively, extends a direct bridge between human perceptual experience and the mechanical procedures of the filmmaker.

The camera and the lens in this schema were more than a double of the human eye—they were an unparalleled liberatory mechanism. In his 1968 A Guide for Film Teachers (which opened with the photo of Jesus Cruz and Barrios), Larson observes, "[m]any teen-agers view words, spoken or written, with distrust. What may appear to be their literary or verbal deficiency can be, in fact, their defense against words. But the eye! For many where words strangle, or limit, the camera exposes. It has no limits…one can express anything with it."[xxvii] For Larson, contrary to the bounded word, vision is seemingly unlimited in its expressive capacity. And, it is not only the filmmaker who finds an emancipatory filmic experience in the visual, but also the viewer. Larson writes: "The viewer, without blinking an eye, can be transported from one place to another and watch scenes fold from high up in the air or from under the earth, through a wall or through another person's eyes; logic and rationality can be utterly ignored. There is such freedom here that it is beyond words."[xxviii] In this fashion, the "eye"--in A Guide's analysis of visual language--not only becomes a metaphor for "seeing" and for filmic communication, but also for a receptive terrain that is transportive, free, and limitless. Although Larson demonstrates a faith in the liberatory mechanisms of the camera that the

cinematic avant-garde of the period did not share (large sectors of the avant-garde contemplated the camera as a "limitation," and "original liar"[xxix]), the radicality of the metaphors of vision of the YFF and the contemporary cinematic avant-garde both resided in formal experimentation in a "pursuit of knowledge foreign to language" that simultaneously inhabited a world "alive" and plumbed the subject's visual depths.[xxx] Yet, the visual metaphors and investment associated with the YFF were perhaps considered most radical not in their investment in a singular awakening of perception--so often imputed to the American avant-garde of the 1960s--but rather in the communal facet of the visual, and, in particular, the visual's psychic and subjective potential, as it passed through various forms of mechanical mediation.

Like Larson's guide, Film Club unfolds a series of enactments of visual relations both in film as creation, and film as perception, yet they are far from the transportive and boundless process that Larson describes. The politics of visuality in Film Club -- consonant with the chaos and playfulness of the Film Club Movie Bus screening--is tense, conflicted, and contradictory. Barrios, for instance, appears briefly in cameo on the Film Club set, filming with his characteristic squint and benignly bared teeth, highlighting his camera and himself as a vehicle of representation. Larson appears outside the Movie Bus in Harlem, dressed with his white collared shirt and with short-trimmed hair (acting as a bureaucratic foil to both Barrios and his own earlier voiceovers), playfully mouthing reprimands--his voice silenced by a non-diegetic free jazz soundtrack--and glasses reflecting hazy images beyond the camera's field of vision. Young attendees mischievously look through the windows of the mobile projection booth. Yet, the core of these relations can be found in a moment--towards the beginning

of the documentary--in which two young filmmakers reciprocally look through a camera, and once again with a significant twist (Figure 7).

Using costumes discarded from failed Broadway musicals provided by New York City's Department of Cultural Affairs,[xxxi] the actor-filmmaker on the side of the lens "plays Indian"[xxxii] --in a black wig, headdress, and a tasseled leather jacket--presumably rehearsing for The Revenge, a film by Miguel Sánchez. A student voiceover (at the prodding of an adult) clumsily recounts his incorporation within the YFF and the three (unintelligible) titles of his comedy films--the didactic nature of the voiceover in stark contrast to the jaunty (albeit somewhat dislocated) images passing across the screen.

Figure 7. Still, Film Club. Tentatively identified as student filmmakers Raymond Esquilin and Miguel Sánchez. Courtesy of Film-Makers' Cooperative.

Like the national amateur film clubs that flourished broadly throughout the United States starting in the 1930s, employing home movie scenario books,[xxxiii] the characters and genres of the YFF films drew not only from urban culture, but also from the visual and narrative structures of Hollywood (and popular culture as a whole). Highly codified figures such as the villain, the damsel, the jokester, the hero, and the bandolero (roughly, "outlaw"); genres, such as the Western, the gangster and romance film; and popular Caribbean traditions flow through films of the YFF, even as the films stubbornly retain a rawness, representational inconformity[xxxiv] and provisional nature of amateur filmmaking. The history of racial cross-dressing (in particular redfacing) is vast, carrying with it yet another field of representation and visuality, here made explicit by the presence of the camera within the frame.[xxxv] Like the use of blackface in D.W. Griffith's

Birth of the Nation or yellowface in his Broken Blossoms (Griffith is referenced repeatedly by Rodger Larson in YFF materials as a mater cinematic example), redface can be traced to early cinema including the Griffith work Iola's Promise, among other films (as can brownface for that matter).

Exaggerated, and with a touch of parody (albeit still somehow innocent and uncalculated) the scene draws attention to a grotesquely artificial racialization rendered by the long feminine wig (presumably borrowed from another part) and by the two feathers. The image gestures towards Hollywood's racial optics regime, clearly bypassing any non-cinematic historical subject, but it also serves to lay bare the construction of social roles that occurs in Hammid's initial photo and throughout Film Club. Rather than underlining a false identification, Film Club highlights the highly codified space of these filmmakers as social actors. Through parody of the institutional power placing them upon this stage or within this frame to begin with, the scenario creates friction between an embodied notion of character and the social role represented in which the filmmakers masquerade and enact strategic repositions.[xxxvi] This repositioning, however, is also achieved through the intertwined and interchanging expectations of the viewer and the viewed--a politics of vision and position. In fact, the costumed teenager is so close to the lens that it would appear that the student filmmaker (contrary to Barrios's camera that takes in a broader frame) is filming not the teenager's redface garb but the actor-filmmaker's eye. The filmmaker seems to be shifting the focal length back and forth. This action would have rendered the image between blurred visibility and abstraction. The eye in relative focus, and the eye rendered blurry, barely distinguishable. The costumed actor-filmmaker would have seen his own shadow-image reflected in the camera lens, as well

as the black spot of his friend-filmmaker's own eye, tunneled in the apparatus.

Larson (alongside Meade) references the "eye" as that which films and views arguably as a broader metaphor for perception. In this case it is also the eye unto itself that is the hypothetical shot's object of representation--an eye never completely in focus, an impossible focal point. That is, the eye--vision's anatomical referent and metaphor--in this fashion is construed as the primary site of representation and space of visual interrogation, yet it is rendered perpetually in and out of focus as the filmmaker zooms in and out with the camera aperture. Accordingly, like Hammid's still photo in Forsyth Park, representation (and more specifically representation of the self) is the subject and point of arrival of the film in this exceptionally reflexive moment. Yet unlike Hammid's photo, which maintains a solemnity and an observational distance, this scene—like much of Film Club and the student films themselves--approaches the question of representation through humor and play. The students are "playing" identity for the camera.[xxxvii] Placing in question the premise of their own cinematic representations, they permanently unsettle and re-focus their own production of self as a site of multiple and contested identitifications, leading us to an overarching concern regarding mediating figure/s off camera, and the collective identities they coalesce. The student filmmakers' absence from Film Club's credits points towards a potential voiding of authority, yet this scene troubles any clear-cut erasure of the students' visual self-determination or their agency as symbolic producers. However, far from a definitive affirmation, this scene instead emphasizes the "blurriness" of their identities, "by turns visible and invisible, readable and illegible," where identities are arguably only visible insofar as they are performative.[xxxviii] Rather than emphasizing the stable or even transformative qualities of

their construction as social actors--as do their surrounding institutional voiceovers or bureaucratic apparatus, these two young filmmakers (alongside Barrios who is presumably the second camera and editor) underline the "provisionality"[xxxix] and constructed nature of their onscreen characters (and, as I will argue later, even of their own archive),[xl] claiming an almost picaresque "(counter)institional visibility"[xli] or, at the very least, a disidentification[xlii] with institutional modes of accessing and enacting the visible.

Looking Beyond the Frame

Film Club underlines the YFF's belief in "film" as a transformative medium. Within its parameters, film served as a real and imagined means of social cohesion, in which a communal valorization of new ways of seeing could weave a renewed social fabric, and construct novel subjectivities. According to Larson, instead of "'hard-core' high school drop-outs,"[xliii] YFF's students would, through "creative expression"[xliv] and film's social and aesthetic transfiguration, become filmmakers--complete with a sonorous ring that surrounded artists, writers, or even priests of previous generations. Alongside other urban symbolic mobilization of the period,[xlv] the YFF aspired to sound voices rarely heard, and to give students the tools to claim new ways and sites of seeing and, by extension, being, outside of commercial distribution and networks.[xlvi] In their bold inhabitation of the streets, the student filmmakers of the YFF were positioned to resist--both consciously and unconsciously--the hostility of the period's urban public space in a project imbued with the simultaneously liberating and normalizing forces of the Great Society. Despite the high-minded tone of much of its public declarations, however, the YFF project was far

from straightforwardly moralistic. The YFF student films treated (and arguably celebrated) topics ranging from urban and frontier violence to psychedelia and drug culture. As such, the project of the YFF as an outreach institution endorsed (or allowed) a contradictory simultaneity of escapism and moral instruction in its practices. In fact, it embraced the many times illicit pleasures of the practices of cinema.[xlvii]

The uncertain nature of Film Club's moral purpose gives it a particular flexibility in its horizon of expectation. Film Club possesses simultaneous currents flowing between the ludic, the exuberantly fictional, and the documentary. Crossing utility and aesthetic pleasure, it fuses informative and aesthetic pretenses, representing a multiplicity and complexity both congruous and incongruous within the broader project of the YFF. Considered in isolation Film Club opens more questions than it answers regarding spectatorship and intention. The documentary's manifest intension is to extol the virtues of student filmmaking and free expression, to construct film as a cathartic escape valve, a balm to the wounds of the inner city, and a transformative artistic practice. Yet, configuring a conflicting dialogue between the aesthetic and moral dimensions of the documentary and its surrounding workshops, Film Club opposes both aesthetic and moral spaces,[xlviii] and places an emphasis upon the project's moral dimensions. However, following the lead of the underground filmmakers of the period, the student films of the YFF filmmakers themselves--mostly working-class Puerto Rican teenagers whose families had arrived in the Lower East Side during the postwar period--many times proposed their own filmic creation both consciously and unconsciously as a "solvent of morality" and an aesthetic space to "neutraliz[e] moral indignation."[xlix] That is, the student films implicitly propose a suspension of approval or disapproval of the aesthetic

object, and the liberation of the aesthetic object from the imperative of a moral position. In other words, even in their own moment of production, the student films of the YFF--and Barrios's edit of Film Club—work against the moralism of their audience and the bureaucratic apparatus and patronage that continuously interpellated them.

This disidentification with its own bureaucratic apparatus is nowhere more clear than in the final scene of Film Club--one of only three scenes in which a YFF student speaks (in addition to looking) to camera.[l] The final scene is a behind-the-scenes interview of the young filmmaker José Ruíz, as he shoots a short film (that was never finished) in New York City about a "wavering hero" who goes by the moniker "Billy Boy Blue." Originally shot by an ABC news crew, the footage was negotiated by Barrios and Larson in the editing process for the documentary. The scene begins with a shot of a typical New York City corner bodega--"Johnny's Grocery"--plastered with Coca-Cola and 7 Up signs. Three teenage actors run from the bodega and escape down an alley, presumably fleeing a robbery. Dubbing the original ABC broadcast voiceover due to contract obligations,[li] an anonymous replacement voiceover in Film Club--exaggerated and parodic--announces: "This might look like dramatic footage of a robbery in progress, but it is all staged for 15-year-old José Ruiz who is filming a Mack Sennett-type short, but with a tragic ending for his wavering hero, Billy Boy Blue." By referencing the early, primarily silent, Mack Sennett shorts produced in the first half of the twentieth century, the voiceover ties Ruíz's work to the history of Hollywood cinema, and, in particular, to the history of early slapstick comedy and parody--to its rejections of middle-class "moral" impositions upon cinema,[lii] and to the hybrid fiction and documentary mode associated with Mack Sennett's studio and the "fun factory" and their many "behind-the-

scenes" shorts.[liii] Ruiz's engagement with the interviewer, however, may also be placed within a particularly Caribbean tradition of humor--el choteo *(*roughly, "kidding" or "joking")--in that its verbal or para-verbal nature contrasts to the slapstick, physical, and self-effacing humor of Mack Sennett-era.[liv] The student films contained within Film Club join both traditions, oscillating between early-Hollywood physical comedy and el choteo's verbal evasions of authority and tendencies towards disorder.

This double influence and historical engagement structurally continues as a dialogue between the newscaster and the young filmmaker ensues. Ruiz speaks to microphone, his gaze director towards the off-screen newscaster:

"What's your film about?"
"Billy Boy Blue"
"What's the story?"
"He starts out being a nice kid when he's home; he starts getting to be a bad kid when he's downstairs, and he does robbery and beating up people. He's stealing. He's number one enemy of the police. The scene where he gets killed in the park by all of the policemen. That's the end of Billy Boy Blue.
"What is the moral of your story?"
"The model?"
"Your moral?"
"I mean, it's a comedy film."
"A comedy film about a boy who gets into a lot of trouble."
"Yes."
"But comes to no good in the end."
"Well, what's the story about?"
"It's a comedy film? Uh, uh…." (Ruiz looks away with a smirk)
"Let's take that again."

The scene, at least in Film Club the documentary, never appears in another take. The dissatisfaction of the newscaster surrounding Ruíz's insistence upon the fact that his film is a comedy film is left in suspension, as is the moral of the Ruíz's film. Ruíz, in his initial misunderstanding of the question, reveals his distance from a "moral" project; and his second displacement of the question towards an avowal of the short's status as a

"comedy film," trailing off in an incomprehensible stutter, with a sly smile, presumably making eye contact (almost mirthful) with a complicit off-screen interlocutor, frustrates the "moral" and the script the newscaster seeks. The visual relations constructed in this scene contain the potential of a cohering system, yet contrary to the YFF's formal declarations, they do not give the spectator an assurance of transformation or liberation. As much as Ruiz's stutter and the equivocation of his gaze show complicity, his visual interlocutors are only incompletely announced due to the intentionally circumscribed nature of the frame. This evasion of a moralistic reading or resolution in the closing scene of Film Club may, by extension, be applied to Film Club itself. Like Ruíz's "Billy Boy Blue," the force and potential of Film Club as a work of art perhaps resides in the manner in which it plays its role ambivalently--in a stuttering, yet joyful, fashion--as it dares to look back and also to look away, establishing alternative and (at times untraceable) relations beyond the frame.

An Amateur Archive: Between the Film Lab and the Library

DuArt Film Laboratory—where the YFF materials spent the 1970s--was not only a film laboratory. Like many film laboratories, it was also an informal archive. DuArt retained the films they processed, associated with the independent film movement dating from the 1920s, at their Midtown Manhattan laboratories on the building's 12th and final floor, "the movie crypt at the top of the stairs."[lv] In addition to many now forgotten orphaned independent films, the space housed the YFF Collection for over a decade. Later, the YFF materials would be moved from DuArt to Bonded (in Fort Lee, New Jersey), still in their original numbered boxes. These films--187 items in total--found a

resting place at the Reserve Film and Video Collection at the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts (NYPL). Housed at the Lincoln Center Complex in the Upper West Side, the films are available to the public on a limited basis--as they are slowly restored to their original imperfect nature. Never meant for such a durational task as the institutional collection at Donnell, the YFF 16mm student films make evident the strange, if significant, lineages and affiliations that the archive fixes and undoes, forms and erodes. These student films do not merely problematize the politics of the camera, the confines of the frame, or the multiple and variegated subjectivation of the personages both behind and in front of the camera. Instead, as most cultural objects do in some form or another, the films of the YFF also place in tension the canon and the archive, both as material and historical processes and conceptual abstractions.

There are three extant copies of Film Club--one restored in 2000 by Film/Video Arts with the support of the National Film Preservation Fund (NFPF; whereabouts uncertain),[lvi] and another at the historic Film-Makers' Cooperative. The final 16mm viewing copy at NYPL proves especially significant when considering the broader oeuvre of Barrios--especially in relation to the YFF. Interspersed throughout YFF materials at NYPL, there is a sprinkling of film elements by Jaime Barrios, establishing an archival fluidity between Barrios's work and his students'. The Bonded inventory lists unknown films by Barrios such as Between the Motion and the Act in Box 6 and Elephant's Memory in Box 2, alongside films that have developed a certain surrounding mythology among those who knew Barrios (such as Chileans in New York and Virginia Cows in Box 3; Reel 1, 2, 3, 4 of Discovery of America and Reel 1 and 2 of Parra in Box 1; and Reel 2 of The Street and "[Virginia Film]" in Box 12). The Barrios film elements are in varying

states of completion. In the New York Public internal institutional listings Virginia Cows is listed as "c. 1969, Original Camera Reversal (3 reels), Mag track (3 reels), Virginia Cows," Chileans in New York as "Trk Neg, Fine Grain Master, Mag Trk, Work Print. No prints," Discovery of America as "Original Camera Reversal (4 reels), Trk Neg (4 reels). No prints," Parra as "Original Camera Negative (2 reels), Trk Neg (2 reels), No prints." Film Club is the only Barrios film with a 16mm viewing copy. These works by Barrios, filmed over the span of several years, were all given the same tentative date (c. 1970) in the Bonded inventory, that, alongside the absence of prints, emphasizes the free-floating, uncanonized nature of Barrios's work (even as it is understood by the logic of storage).

The critical reception (or lack thereof) of Film Club, Jaime Barrios, and the student filmmakers who in many ways share authorship of the documentary relates to a variety of factors ranging from the gatekeeping logics of festival circuits to the prevailing protocols of film history canons. This is perhaps best evidenced by the initial festival screenings in the 1960s of Film Club at the Robert Flaherty Film Seminar and the New York Film Festival, followed by a long intervening silence until the 2000s.

In the last half decade, the work of Barrios and of the student filmmakers of the YFF has taken on new interest. Barrios's experimental work of the 1960s, and his militant work of the 1980s in response to the Pinochet dictatorship in his home country of Chile have recently been taken up in a series of pioneering studies.[lvii] This nascent, yet growing critical interest speaks to a shifting horizon of experience that the reception of a work of an art may undergo, and its potential reappraisal with the passage of time within the expectations of a new generation of spectatorship and criticism. Yet, Film Club, despite a modest festival revival in the early 2000s at Tribeca and Punto de Vista, [lviii] has been

addressed little in conversations surrounding Barrios or the YFF—what aesthetic or identitary critique may Film Club offer in this new constellation that is taking shape?

The notion of the "horizon of expectation" perhaps illuminates the shifting potential of *Film Club* as a work of art or literary creation.[lix] Like Barrios's broader oeuvre*,* it is a documentary that is movable and changing not only in its manifest genre designations, but also in its latent visibility and invisibility and in its canonical (or non-canonical) horizon.[lx] Film Club has arguably been excluded from a critical "field of vision"[lxi] by its difficult assimilation in any single canonical or critical formation; at the same time that it is richly intersected by multiplying axes. It finds itself at the crossroads not only of Chilean diaspora and Chilean exile histories, but also between Puerto Rican and Chilean diaspora studies. These critical bodies have points of contact, but are generally considered within distinct critical assemblages, which likewise are dominated by diverging sets of questions, leaving Film Club--like much of Barrios's work--in a space in between critical traditions. Finding itself in a movable site yet to be fixed, *Film Club,* however, is still waiting to find its critical location--all the more rich in its latency as a "succession of new horizons,"[lxii] and not-yetness.

Jauss insists that the figure of the horizon can be "movable and changing (that is, a unique and momentary field of vision that, as experience moves on, opens out onto an endless succession of new horizons)."[lxiii] Following Jauss's notion of a horizon of expectation, the politics of the gaze, spectatorship, and production--racially, linguistically, nationally, and generationally marked--enters into (or frustrates) the original reception of a work of art. The etymological history of the term "horizon" seems especially apropos as a mode of approach to Film Club, insofar as it involves the "act of

looking (regarding)" and "looking away from (disregarding)."[lxiv] This analysis of reception as such dovetails with the metaphor of a historically marked gaze, which is visually so present in Film Club and its surrounding materials. If the "horizon of expectation" of a work is constantly shifting and reoriented, and if a work "continue[s] to have an effect only if future generations still respond to it or rediscover it,"[lxv] five decades later--outside of the exigencies of its time--the aesthetic and moral expectations of Film Club have radically shifted, inflecting a new politics of reception, albeit in potentia, upon *Film Club* as a documentary (and the NYPL inventory more broadly).

If 16mm was imagined in the 1960s as a democratic medium, this same medium now renders the materials opaque. At times, the stubborn impenetrability of the inventories and the unviewable nature of the majority of the material becomes an almost impossible diagnostic; what images and sounds have been imprinted upon these negatives, camera reversals, mag tracks? The Barrios prints are disciplinarily related to the YFF projects alongside which they archivally reside. But this is also a false affiliation --albeit a materially, spatially, and institutionally suggestive one. Said and conceived in another fashion, the elements in the NYPL collection are instead in certain ways forgotten extremities of alternative and overlapping systems: the New York underground film scene as the print of Film Club at the Film-Makers' Cooperative (inextricably associated with the New American Cinema Group) might suggest;[lxvi] eccentric additions to Latin American militant cinema; Puerto Rican, or more broadly Latin American diasporic counterculture; and even an exemplar of Chilean exile cinema avant la lettre, like a filmic premonition announced in the dark territories of undeveloped celluloid. An overarching question remains: what canon (or addition to already existing canons) may be completed,

grafted, or formed by means of the 16mm chemical shadows left by Jaime Barrios and by the YFF? Within the multiplicity of this archival logic, much like Film Club as a documentary more broadly, there is an interruption of a spectator or a critic's yearning for clear lineages. Complicating Film Club's position within any one coherent system, the work's horizon of expectation takes on new historical exigencies, collective and individual projections or desires. However, less than a missing link, perhaps the abiding power of Film Club resides in its refusal and doubling of any gaze fixed upon it as a work or as a system of canonical relations.

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[i] Hella Hammid, a collaborator for Life magazine in the 1940s, was also well-known for her work as a cinematographer. Her cinematography was associated with the historic American avant-garde and known for sophisticated and self-conscious notions surrounding visual representations of the self and a complex politics of the gaze, in particular, through her collaborations with the filmmaker Maya Deren. See Bill Nichols, Introduction, in Maya Deren and the American Avant-Garde (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 8.

[ii] Rodger Larson and Ellen Meade, Young Filmmakers, photography by Marcelo Montealegre (New York: EP Dutton & Co Inc., 1969), 60.

[iii] For an extended discussion on vision and visuality--and their diverse, multiple and competing traditions--through the lens of post-structuralism and psychoanalysis, see Foster's seminal edited volume: Hal Foster, editor, Vision and Visuality, Dia Art Foundation Discussions in Contemporary Culture 2 (Seattle: Bay Press, 1988). Or, alternatively, see Nicholas Mirzoeff's more recent study (and explicit critique of Foster's volume) that traces visuality--as term and concept--beyond post-structuralism to nineteenth-century Anglophone imperial culture, and its subsequent reverse appropriation in minoritarian claims to majoritarian visual subjectivity. Nicholas Mirzoeff, "On Visuality," Journal of Visual Culture 5.1. (2006): 57-79; Nicholas Mirzoeff, The Right to Look: A Counterhistory of Visuality (Durham: Duke, 2011).

[iv] The New York State Council for the Arts was a public program founded in 1960 to incentivize independent filmmaking and soon would be one of the first public funding programs for video art.

[v] Over the years, the Flaherty has showcased a variety of film aesthetics, running from educational films (including works produced in the Division of Community Education of Puerto Rico, including Flaherty veteran Willard Van Dyke's Mayo Florido [1958]) to early Soviet aesthetics and contemporary direct cinema, yet by 1968 there was a clear preference for explicitly reflexive documentary aesthetics. The effusive reception of Jim McBride's David Holzman's Diaries during the same Seminar in which Film Club was presumably screened is only one case in point. See 14th Annual Flaherty Seminar-Tape

5. Robert Flaherty Film Seminar Archive, 1949-2011, Fales Library and Special Collections, NYU. For overviews of the aesthetic, institutional, and political investments that the Flaherty and the NYFF entail, see Scott MacDonald and Patricia R. Zimmerman, The Flaherty: Decades in the Cause of Independent Cinema (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017); Tom Yoshikami, "Amos Vogel and the New York Film Festival, 1963-1969," in Be Sand, Not Oil: The Life and Work of Amos Vogel, ed. Paul Cronin (Vienna: Österreichisches Filmmuseum, 2014), 133-147.

[vi] The notion of "national" processes of collective formation of post-war Puerto Rican and 1960s-era Chilean state-sponsored audiovisual production is relative. Both movements implied transnational aesthetic, political, and social alliances, and included varied agents and agendas. The broader heuristic distinction, however, with Film Club stands. On the symbolic investments of post-war Puerto Rican and 1960s-era Chilean audiovisual production, see Joaquín García, Historia del cine puertorriqueño [1984] (Bloomington: Palibrio, 2014), especially Ch. 2 "Auge del cine puertorriqueño," 30-47. and Claudio Salinas Muñoz and Hans Stange Marcus, Historia analítica del cine experimental en la Universidad de Chile. 1957-1973 (Chile: Uqbar Editores, 2008).

[vii] David E. James writes: "Just as much as a written one, a diary made in film privileges the author, the process and moment of composition, and the inorganic assembly of disarticulate, heterogeneous parts rather than any aesthetic whole. It is a private event (the coded or locked diary) where consumption, especially consumption by others, is illicit: a pure use value." David E. James, "Film Diary/Diary Film: Practice and Product in Walden," in To Free the Cinema: Jonas Mekas and the New York Underground, ed. David E. James (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992), 147.

[viii] This composite authorship finds productive connections with the 1968 student movements that would come a year later, and is bound up more broadly with both Latin American and international militant cinema. See, in particular, Getino and Solanas and their reference to the connection between the student movements (in Italy, France, and Berkeley) and an unhierarchical politics of the image in their famous 1969 "Hacia un tercer cine" manifesto, 31.

[ix] Larson and Meade, Young Filmmakers, 151-2.

[x] In addition to the associations with psychedelia of the Volkswagen in U.S. counterculture, the YFF Movie Bus intersects with a broader developmentalist tradition of mobile cinema, deployed throughout the 20th century most frequently as part of rural industrialization campaigns, marked by wide-ranging political commitments and affiliations. Activating different social systems, the YFF Movie Bus engaged the margins (or "frontiers") of the urban public space of industrial capitalism, as 1960s New York increasingly transitioned towards post-Fordist models, thus, deploying distinct, yet related, technological, social and political references and notions of "industrial citizenship" than the latter (even as the films themselves placed these same notions in tension). See Lee Grievson on broader historical connections between "industrial citizenship," visual education, and its production of subjectivity. Lee Grievson, "Visualizing Industrial Citizenship," Learning with the Lights Off: Educational Film in the United States, eds. Devin Orgeron, Marsha Orgeron, Dan Streible (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2012), 107-123. The bibliography on mobile cinema and visual education is extensive, see Brian Larkin's excellent study as a starting point. "Majigi, Colonial Film,

State Publicity, and the Political Form of Cinema" in Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria (Durham: Duke UP, 2008), 73-122.

[xi] Roland Barthes, "Leaving the Movie Theater" [1975], The Rustle of Language, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1986), 345-346.

[xii] Sky Sitney, "The Search for the Invisible Cinema," Grey Room 19 (2005): 102-113.

[xiii] Here, I use the term in the spirit of Urayoán Noel's In Visible Movement: Nuyorican Poetry from the Sixties to Slam (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014), which calls to "resite" the street as concept through the lens of 1960s Nuyorican New York.

[xiv] Larkin, 2. The analysis in the previous passage is more broadly in dialogue with Larkin's Chapter 5, "Immaterial Urbanism and the Cinematic Event," 146-167.

[xv] Rodger Larson, A Guide for Film Teachers to Filmmaking by Teenagers (New York: New York City Administration of Parks, Recreation and Cultural Affairs, 1968), 12.

[xvi] August Heckscher, "Forward," A Guide, 8.

[xvii] Margaret Naumburg, Dynamically Oriented Art Therapy: Its Principles and Practice (New York: Grume & Stratton, 1966), 1.

[xviii] See Manthia Diawara, "Black Spectatorship: Problems of Identification and Resistance," Screen 29.4 (1988): 66-79; bell hooks, "The Oppositional Gaze: Black Female Spectators" in Black Looks: Race and Representation (Boston: South End Press, 1992); James Snead, "Spectatorship and Capture in King Kong: The Guilty Look." Critical Quarterly 33.1 (1991): 53-69.

[xix] See Jacqueline Stewart's analysis and critique of Diawara, hooks, and Snead, in Jacqueline Stewart, Migrating to the Movies: Cinema and Black Urban Modernity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), in particular chapter 3, "'Negroes Laughing at Themselves'? Black Spectatorship and the Performance of Urban Modernity," 93-113.

[xx] The contrast that I am establishing here between nationalist and counterinstitutional performative modes of resistance draws from Noel, in particular, "On Out of Focus Nuyoricans, Noricuas, and Performance Identities," Liminalities: A Journal of Performance Studies 10.3/4 (2014): 1-14; and more generally from Frances Negrón-Muntaner, Boricua Pop: Puerto Rico and The Latinization of American Culture (New York: New York University Press, 2004). See also Ann Garland Mahler's new monograph, From the Tricontinental to the Global South: Race, Radicalism, and Transnational Solidarity (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018). in particular Ch. 3 "The 'Colored and Oppressed' in Amerikka: Trans-Affective Solidarity in Writings by Young Lords and Nuyoricans" 106-159, where Garland Mahler instead places the Young Lords and the Nuyorican movement in conversation with a broader Tricontinental project.

[xxi] On social psychology and minoritarian subjectivity, see Antonio Viego, Dead Subjects: Toward a Politics of Loss in Latino Studies (Durham: Duke, 2007), 4); on communal critiques in the Lower East Side of Great Society programs, see Noel, In Visible, 49.

[xxii] DeeDee Halleck, Hand-held Visions: The Impossible Possibilities of Community Media (New York: Fordham University Press, 2002).

[xxiii] Jennifer M. Barker, The Tactile Eye: Touch and the Cinematic Experience (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

[xxiv] Laura U. Marks, The Skin of the Film: Intercultural Cinema, Embodiment and the Senses (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000).
[xxv] Larson was trained in a neo-Freudian school of art education with art therapist Margaret Naumburg at NYU in the 1950s.
[xxvi] Rodger Larson, A Guide, 83.
[xxvii] Rodger Larson, A Guide, 16.
[xxviii] Rodger Larson, A Guide, 57.
[xxix] Stan Brakhage's Metaphors on Vision (New York: Film Culture, 1963) is the most cohesive expression of the 1960s avant-garde's distrust towards the camera as disruptive mediation of the "purity" of the mind's eye, 30.
[xxx] Brakhage, 29.
[xxxi] Personal Interview, Rodger Larson, November, 2016.
[xxxii] This term is borrowed from Philip J. Deloria's Playing Indian (Michigan: Yale University Press, 1998), where Deloria develops a notion of "playing Indian" as constitutive to American identity.
[xxxiii] According to David E. James, "amateur filmmaking clubs … thrived from the early 1930s to the mid-1950s. By the late 1930s, two hundred fifty such clubs catered to between one hundred thousand and three hundred thousand filmmakers, with five hundred rental houses supplying films for home viewing" (141-2). A significant case in New York City was the Amateur Cinema League (ACL) founded in 1926. Many of these clubs that began by supporting "avant-garde practices" would later work with the home movie scenario books that mimicked the "scenarios" and the crew structures of Hollywood. David E. James, "The Idea of the Amateur" in The Most Typical Avant-Garde (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 137-164.
[xxxiv] In Metaphors on Vision, Brakhage calls this phenomenon "representational dissatisfaction," 34.
[xxxv] See Michelle H. Raheja, Reservation Reelism: Redfacing, Visual Sovereignty, and Representations (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010).
[xxxvi] See Diana Taylor, The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory In the Americas (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), in particular, Chapter 1 "Acts of Transfer," 1-52. Taylor's analyses of the "Reconquest" or frontier scenario are illuminating when approaching Film Club. Also see Joseph Roach, Cities of the Dead: Circus-Atlantic Performance (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), in particular, "Ghost Dance: Buffalo Bill and the Voodoo Queen" (202-210), where Roach analyzes Mardi Gras Indian parades as "imaginative re-creation and repossession of Africa" by part of African-American performers, 207. The figure of the American Indian is also a recurrent theme in Puerto Rican spiritism rituals, complementing Roach's analysis.
[xxxvii] The latter usage of the concept of "play" has multiple lineages. On the one hand, it draws from D.W. Winnicott's theory of play as constitutive of the self. For Winnicott play is neither "inside" nor "outside"—and inherently relational and bodily—in contrast to the inward focused creativity developed by his neo-Freudian contemporary Naumburg. D.W. Winnicott, Playing and Reality [1971] (London: Routledge, 1997). On the other, it takes inspiration from Stuart Hall's double metaphor of "play." Hall writes:

> [Play] suggests, on the one hand, the instability, the permanent unsettlement, the lack of any final solution. On the other hand, it reminds us that the place where this

> "doublenes"' is most powerfully to be heard is "playing" within the varieties of Caribbean musics. This cultural "play" could not be represented, cinematically, as a simple, binary opposition-"past/present," "them/us." Its complexity exceeds this binary structure of representation. At different places, times, in relation to different questions, the boundaries are re-sited (73).

Hall's analysis runs through bell hook's "oppositional gaze"'--albeit within a much more ocular-centric schema. Stuart Hall, "Cultural identity and Cinematic Representation," Framework (1989) 36: 68-82.

[xxxviii] Noel, "On Out of Focus," 2.

[xxxix] Ibid.

[xl] Ibid, 3.

[xli] Ibid, 1.

[xlii] José Esteban Muñoz, Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999. Even though Muñoz is primarily concerned with queer identities, his conceptualization of "disidentification" serves above to situate broader identity constructs, queer or otherwise, which are likewise "difficult to inhabit," 8.

[xliii] Rodger Larson, A Guide, 11.

[xliv] August Heckscher, "Forward," in A Guide, 8.

[xlv] See Noel, In Visible, in particular chapter 2 "Resiting the Street: Performance and Institutional Politics in and beyond the Nuyorican Poets Café," 41-83.

[xlvi] The term filmmaker is popularized in the 1950s through the direct cinema movement and implied "new lighter-weight cameras and sound recorders as well as small crews, which not only liberated the camera to move but also disposed of the division of labor of Hollywood and the networks, thus offering more creative control." Zimmerman and MacDonald, 56.

[xlvii] "Immaterial Urbanism and the Cinematic Event" in Brian Larkin, Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria (Durham: Duke UP, 2008), 146-167.

[xlviii] Susan Sontag, "Jack Smith's Flaming Creatures" [Rpt. From The Nation April 13, 1964] in Against Interpretation and Other Essays (New York: Picador, 2001), 231. Susan Sontag's 1964 "defense" of Jack Smith's Flaming Creatures provides an axis upon which to describe Film Club's deployment of aesthetic and moral codes that, like the work of Hans Robert Jauss--whose notion of a work's "horizon of expectations" I also turn to in this article-- lends us a conceptual apparatus from Film Club's historical period and, in the case of Jack Smith, drawn from the milieu of Barrios and Larson.

[xlix] Sontag, "Notes on 'Camp'" in Against Interpretation and Other Essays (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux, 1966), 290.

[l] Rarely working with synchronous sound, the student films portrayed in the Film Club are rhythmically structured by popular records of the period (rock, jazz, and salsa), Richie Ray and Bobby Cruz's boogaloo number "Richie's Jala Jala" (Jala Jala y Boogaloo, Alegre, 1967), Dionne Warwick's "Wishin' and Hopin'" (Scepter, 1963), a free jazz sample, the Beatles' "A Day in the Life" (Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band, Parlophone-Capitol 1967), "Yesterday" (Help!, Parlophone, 1965).

[li] Personal Interview, Rodger Larson, November, 2016.

[lii] Rob King, The Fun Factory: The Keystone Film Company and the Emergence of Mass Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009).

[liii] Hilde D'haeyere, "Slapstick on Slapstick: Mack Sennett's Metamovies Revisit the Company," Film History (2014) 26, no. 2: 82-111.
[liv] Jorge Mañach, Indagación del choteo [1928] Rev. Ed (Havana: Editorial Libro Cubano, 1955), or Jorge Mañach, An Inquiry into Choteo, trans. Jacqueline Loss (Barcelona: Linkgua, 2019). Gustavo Pérez Firmat, Literature and Liminality: Festive Readings in the Hispanic Tradition (Durham: Duke University Press, 1986), especially Ch. 4 "Riddles of the Sphincter," 53-74. El choteo connects to jaiba and gufeo, which Frances Negrón-Muntaner has termed an "irreverent" Caribbean tradition of "joking, often accompanied by great sarcasm and wit." Boricua Pop, 110.
[lv] DuArt is now part of an archival project in conjunction with IndieCollect alongside the Museum of Modern Art, the George Eastman House, Anthology Film Archives, the Library of Congress, and the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences. See John Anderson, "The Movie Crypt at the Top of the Stairs: At DuArt, Thousands of Unclaimed Films," New York Times, August 20, 2014: https://www.nytimes.com/2014/08/24/movies/at-duart-thousands-of-unclaimed-films.html In 2017, by means of IndieCollect, the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences Film Archive in Los Angeles received a box from DuArt with a Kodachrome camera original with roles A & B positive reversible, without a soundtrack. Ed Carter, Personal Interview, September 28, 2017.
[lvi] Interview with Eileen Newman, Executive Director of Film/Video Arts (1998-2004), October 6, 2017.
[lvii] A series of recent studies have broken new ground in the critical appraisal of Barrios's oeuvre, and the socio-aesthetic labors of the YFF. Julio Ramos in particular has worked extensively (and eloquently) on various facets of Barrios filmography. Ramos astutely treats the destabilizing aspect of Barrios's work upon the founding principles of both the "Latin American" and the New York underground cinematic archive, as well as Barrios's connections with the independent Puerto Rican film movement of the period, in particular Pedro Rivera and Diego de la Texera. Ramos's interventions have ranged from work in connection to the queer Puerto Rican filmmaker José Rodríguez Soltero, to a more recent edited Dossier in the Chilean film journal LaFuga (2018) devoted to Barrios's oeuvre, in which I also participated, alongside Ramos, José Miguel Palacios, and Sebastián Figueroa. "Jaime Barrios. Un cineasta chileno en las fronteras del underground neoyorquino" LaFuga (2018) 21 <<http://www.lafuga.cl/jaime-barrios-introduccion/899>> Luciano Piazza and Marlene Gottlieb have also explored the intriguing connections between Barrios and a broader New York (and Chilean) countercultural poetry scene of the period. Luciano Piazza, "5 encuadres de los 60s neoyorquinos," El jardín de los poetas. Revista de teoría y crítica de poesía latinoamericana 2.3 (2016): 124-132; Marlene Gottlieb, "Jaime Barrios's 1968 Documentary 'Homage to Parra,'" Film-Makers' Cooperative, May 6, 2017; "Nicanor Parra: Antipoeta en Nueva York," TransAtlantic NY International Conference, May 24-6, 2017. NYPL Archivist Elena Rossi-Snook and the researcher Lauren Tilton for their part have embarked on an invaluable critical treatment of the YFF, and a broader youth film movement of the period, see Elena Rossi-Snook and Lauren Tilton, "Don't be a Segregationist: Program Films for Everyone," in Marsha Gordon and Allyson Field (Eds). Screening Race in American Non-Theatrical Film (Durham: Duke University,

forthcoming). The latter studies each provide invaluable angles from which to appreciate the Barrios-YFF constellation to which I hope this article contributes.

[lviii] Film Club was screened in a re-edited and abridged version in film programs organized by filmmaker and curator Gabe Klinger at Tribeca (2005) and Punto de Vista (2011).

[lix] The term was coined by Jauss in 1967, contemporary to *Film Club*'s production.

[lx] Here I make reference to reception theory and Jauss's "horizon of expectations" of a work of art. "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory," New Literary History 2, no. 1 (1970): 7-37.

[lxi] Jauss, "Horizon Structure and Dialogicity," in Question and Answer: Forms of Dialogic Understanding, edited and translated by Michael Hays, Theory and History of Literature (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989), 200. Jauss writes: "A renewed critique of historicism, pioneered by Hans-George Gadamer in particular, has fully exposed the--no doubt quite fruitful--objectivist illusion underlying this sort of one-sided hermeneutics. It has also demonstrated that a prior event cannot be understood without looking at its consequences, nor a work of art without investigating its impact," 197-198.

[lxii] Ibid, 200.

[lxiii] Ibid.

[lxiv] Ibid. "The etymological meaning of 'horizon,' derived from the Greek horizein (to delimit, to cut off), is the limit of the field of vision. In his interpretation of Nietzsche, Heidegger provides the most striking account of the comprehensive shift in meaning that the term has undergone: 'Aim, view, field of vision, mean here both the sight beheld and seeing, in a sense that is determined from out of the Greek, but that has undergone the change of idea from eidos to perceptio,'" 199.

[lxv] Jauss, "Literary History," 11.

[lxvi] The Film-Makers' Cooperative also houses two experimental films by Barrios Homenaje a Nicanor Parra and This is not a Demonstration.